1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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§33 takes place in the conventional position, and the male reaches a climax without thought of bringing his partner to an orgasm, even if he is aware of this aspect of feminine physiology. There is no record of the use of contraceptives and, except for married couples, intercourse generally takes place outdoors. Some care is taken to achieve privacy, but little shame or guilt attends discovery, except in cases of adultery.

Trouble is likely to result from love affairs, primarily because men regard them as ends in themselves, whereas women tend to consider them as preludes to marriage. Lovers take advantage of this attitude to promise marriage to any girl they court, but these promises are repeatedly broken. Not much can be done in such an event unless the girl becomes pregnant. She may then seek help from her lover's mother and, if the latter wants her as a daughter-in-law, she may urge her son to marry. If a pregnant girl finds herself repudiated by her sweetheart she may, in extreme cases, commit suicide, or else she may seek vengeance by asking a machi to perform the *kefun*.* *Kefun* is designed to render the guilty man impotent or sterile, but it requires the sacrifice of the baby which is either aborted or strangled at birth by the machi. The infant's ovaries or testicles are cut out and slowly burnt, while the machi chants about the fire, praying that the offender may become [illegible].

Kefun may also be performed against a girl who refuses to marry her lover. Revenge may then be taken by his mother who, by one device or another, gets some of the girl's menstrual blood. She dries it and either inserts it into the victim's food, or puts it over a fire to be consumed. In either event the girl is supposed to sicken, die, or lose her sexual powers.

§32 Mr. Donoldson knew of instances in which a couple lived together before marrying as a kind of fertility test. In cases of this sort, marriage is supposed to follow as soon as pregnancy has occurred. Here again, some men fail to live up to their promises and brazenly refuse to marry or they go to Argentina.

*Cf. Augusta, 1916, I: 91; and Cooper, 1946, p. 735.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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along in one household, he may build a separate *ruka* for the discarded wife. The latter could insist on returning to her parents, but if she is the mother of grown children who can attend to her wants, she may prefer living in her own establishment to going back to her natal home.

Married women are expected to be faithful to their mates, but no serious restrictions are placed on the postmarital conduct of men. Although an adulterous wife is supposedly subject to any punishment her husband cares to inflict on her,[15] it is doubtful if men often carry out severe reprisals. In the great majority of cases married couples learn to make whatever adjustments are necessary and to live out their lives while making the best of any situation that confronts them.

DEATH AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS[16]

Ignorance of sanitation and medical care, combined with inadequate housing and improper diets, prevent many Araucanians from living to a ripe old age. As soon as a person dies word is sent out to his neighbors and to friends and relatives living on other reservations. Only minor differences occur in the burial patterns for adults of either sex; even funerals of suicides do not depart from customary lines. More elaborate ceremonies and richer grave offerings may accompany the rites of prominent and wealthy persons, but the general procedure is much the same for all.

When a person dies his housemates wash the body, arrange the hair, and dress the deceased in his best clothes. The corpse is usually kept indoors for three or four days, during which the section of the *ruka* in which it lies is tabu to small children. If the person had a favorite hockey stick, musical instrument, or household utensil, it is kept beside the body, but the rest of his possessions may be freely handled and soon pass into normal use among his heirs. There is little fear of contact with a corpse. Even the bedding on which a dying person lay is washed and again utilized, except when wealthy people prefer to give it

[15] Latcham, 1909, p. 354.

[16] Cf. the accounts in Guevara, 1908, pp. 263–84; 1909, II: 33–56; and Hosse, 1939, pp. 217–21.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

father or relatives, older or grown-up children remaining with the deceased husband's people. Widows in polygynous households very commonly fell to the man's heir or heirs, that is, his son or sons (except own mothers), his younger brother or other brothers, or other near male relatives.

Among at least the modern *Mapuche*, widows or women who had been deserted without cause by their husbands could take the initiative in seeking out and proposing marriage to men (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 712).

Parent-in-law avoidances were in force, between mother-in-law and son-in-law, and between father-in-law and daughter-in-law. Saluting, directly addressing, naming, and looking were the chief specific prohibitions. A son-in-law was obligated to aid, in all ways as needed, his wife's father and relatives as long as they lived.

Unmarried women were very free to bestow sexual favors as they pleased (Olivares, 1864, p. 61). In Rosales' vivid phrasing: "la virginidad ni se pide ni se paga," nor was a man obliged to marry a girl with whom he had had sexual relations (1877–78, 1:160). Actually, unmarried girls were quite loose in heterosexual behavior; as to female homosexuality, our records are practically silent. Sporadic cases of individual prostitution are recorded; likewise of daughter-lending to guests; and more rarely of wife-lending, especially during drinking feasts. Various types of plants used as love-charms are noted by Félix José (1916): under lelliuken, paillawe, pelpel, weñáywe, wadawe.

KINSHIP

The kuga.—Among the *Mapuche-Huilliche* there prevailed the kuga (cuga, cūga, cunga; also elpa) kinship and naming system. The word persisted in use up to about a 100 to 150 years ago, but no memory of it now survives. The kuga is described by our chief original sources as a: linaje, descendencia, casa, familia, parentela, parentesco (L. de Valdivia, 1887, s.v. cūga; González de Nájera, 1889, p. 46; Rosales, 1877–78, 1:166; Febrés, 1882, s.v. cūga; Molina, 1901, p. 187; Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1876, p. 139); genus, progenies, familia, gens, stirps, stemma (Havestadt, 1883, 1:377, 399, 2:540–41); cast (not caste), family (Falkner, 1935, p. 114)—all words denoting or connoting kinship proper. Apart from honorific adoption of nonkin into a kuga with imposition of a kuga name on the adoptee, as is recorded by Havestadt (1883, 1:399; 2:641; cf. Smith, 1855, pp. 260–62) in the case of some of the missionaries and Colonial civil officers, there is no tangible evidence in our sources that any but real kin were members of any given kuga, and consequently no evidence that the kuga constituted a true sib.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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834 while doing so. During an interview two girls, 17 and 19 years of age, wanted a picture taken of themselves but would not pose in the presence of three young men who were also waiting to be photographed. Finally two of the men, nonrelatives of the girls, walked away. Since the one that remained was a near relative, the girls posed. Later the mother of the girls remarked, "I am glad to know my girls had enough modesty not to have a picture taken this morning in the presence of those two men; they are not related to us."

836 A non-Araucanian was certain that most girls lived chaste lives, although she knew several who had not—each had been promiscuous with several young unmarried men before she finally married one.

An Araucanian man in his forties, in speaking of conditions as they were when he was a young man, said: "Formerly things were very [241] good. For instance, several families assisted each other at threshing time and everybody then slept in the fields. Never did one hear of things happening among the young people. Everyone had deep respect for everyone else in those days." A non-Araucanian teacher listening in agreed: "As many as 20 families will help each other. I have never heard it said that there is immoral conduct at such times." A non-[838] Araucanian man noted, with regard to the behavior of unmarried men today and in recent times, that there is much homosexuality among them; that men speak of it freely and openly.

837 Very rarely was a married woman unchaste—only one instance was mentioned and that with disfavor. The woman concerned complained that she was being maligned by people who were saying that she was spending time with other men. (Her husband was serving a term in jail for stealing cattle.) Not long after this she sent her five children to her husband's parents, already advanced in years, telling them that she herself would come later. When she did not arrive, the old people went in search of her. Her ruka had been cleared of everything, even the children's school books. She had gone to live with the other man.

In general men respect women. "If a woman passes by a group of men, one may say, 'I would like to have her.' Another will say, 'She is a married woman,' and that puts an end to that conversation."

QUARRELING, ANGER, IMPRECATIONS, MURDER, REVENGE, SUICIDE, CANNIBALISM

578 Quarrels occurred between persons and between families, but comparatively rarely. Brothers and sisters seldom quarreled. "We learned at home as children to respect and to do things for each other." A 26-year-old woman told of a quarrel she was having with her eldest

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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DIVORCE, SEPARATION, DESERTION, INFIDELITY

586 Formal divorce, the result of an action by somebody empowered to grant it, was not an Araucanian custom; separations and desertions were. Today the Chilean law regarding divorce is invoked only when difficulty arises regarding the care of the children, something which has happened in several instances where Araucanian men had attended schools with Chileans. In accordance with Chilean law, in these cases, sons of the couple were assigned to the care of the mother; the daughters, to the father.

Desertions by either party occur today, as they did in former times. Instances were recounted where a wife deserted because of ill treatment by her husband, or because of her affection for another man, or because she preferred being with her brothers and sisters. A man deserted because he preferred living with another woman.

Separations by agreement between husband and wife were rare. Formerly in a case of a separation, and today in a nonlegal one, the children were taken and supported by the parent who wanted them most. In a legal separation today (that is, one decided upon before a judge appointed by the Chilean Government, in most cases an Araucanian judge), the Chilean custom of assigning the girls to the father and the boys to the mother is followed, as in the case of divorce.

586 837 Today, as formerly, if infidelity on the part of the woman is suspected or known to exist, the man either sends her back to her home, or whips her. In Pangipulli area it was said that the husband was known to have cut off one of his wife's braids, something informants in other areas had not heard of. No informant had heard that her cheeks were ever slashed or the tip of her nose cut off to disfigure her face. "But an unfaithful wife was a very, very rare thing. If it happened, the man sent the woman out of his ruka and told people about it. The woman usually went to her parents' home. Her family was then obliged to return all the animals and other things, or an equal value of them, that had been paid as bride price. I do not know what happened to a man who was unfaithful, except that people scolded about it."

IN-LAW TABOOS, JOKING RELATIONSHIPS

606 184 In Collipie area, mother-in-law–son-in-law and father-in-law–daughter-in-law taboos existed. A 100-year-old man had been told by old people while he was young that these customs had always existed. Alepue and Pangipulli informants, including several older than 80,

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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matters will be discussed between husband and wife, the wife outlining her plans to her husband and the husband agreeing or disagreeing as he sees fit. His disagreement, though, does not end the matter, for the wife is at liberty to dispose of what are considered her rightful possessions, even though her husband may hold a different opinion. It is the husband's place to make counterstruggestions if he disagrees with his wife's proposals, but he seldom feels himself in a strong enough position to actually forbid her to act without restraint. Families in which husbands rule with an iron hand live in an atmosphere of discord which eventually comes to the attention of the community. Social pressures tend to restore a measure of harmony, at least after a crisis has been reached, since a husband is subject to certain ridicule if his wife complains about his actions to other women and derives sympathy from them. A man will, therefore, usually accede to a number of his wife's wishes if for no other reason than to keep the dissension from extending beyond his immediate family, to maintain at least the fiction of a well-ordered household. On the other hand, a nagging wife does not gain the sympathy of her housemates or neighbors, and it is the husband whose complaints or recourse to physical violence are sanctioned. A shrewish wife is sometimes regarded as *weza* or *loca* (crazy).

After the spouses settle down to gaining a living and begetting children, there seems to be a noticeable de-emphasis of the romantic emotions which characterize early matrimony. While courtship behavior is notoriously secretive, the early marital period, before the birth of the first child, is one in which affection between husband and wife is often openly displayed in the presence of others. This relationship seems to undergo a marked change after the first child is born, but since I have seen only a few such cases my remarks are wholly impressionistic.

There seems to be no stigma attached to excessive virility in extramarital affairs or a lack of it in regard to familial sex. Indeed, the ideal male performance may be characterized as *machoismo*, or masculinity, in the Ladino sense with the full implication of promiscuity. Women may be ridiculed for displaying what is considered an overinterest in sex, indicated by their conversation and by their attentions to their husbands. There is the notion that a sexually "overactive" wife is given to looseness, an accusation sometimes made in arguments with other women.

Philandering brings no more than mild social rebuke, provided

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there is not a general neglect of wife and children as a result. Other men, while not openly condoning promiscuity among their peers, treat the matter jocosely and extend feigned sympathy to the husband who has to disport himself with other women and yet attempt to maintain a respectable front. The women of the community react to such behavior with attitudes ranging from stern disapproval to malicious enjoyment, depending mostly on the extent of their friendship with the wife of the wayward husband.

If a man's extramarital affairs result in a failure to fulfill familial duties, it is likely that his own closest kin will admonish him. He might be advised that times have changed and that the day of the polygynist is past. It is rare for such admonition to come from the wife's family, who only in extreme cases intervene on behalf of their kinswoman, and then usually to suggest that she return to her father's house.

A woman will remain with her husband even though she knows or suspects that he is having sexual relations with other women. If the husband provides the expected economic security, as he is morally obliged to do, and the woman has children to occupy her thoughts, she does not return to her father's or brother's house. She may not even urge her husband to give up his lover. This is especially so if she has lived on his reservation for a number of years and has made close friends with some of the other women, among whom are her own classificatory sisters. It is not difficult to see the historical roots of such attitudes in a society in which polygyny was once widely practiced, the principle still active, and in which such forms of marriage continue to occur. An indication of an elder brother's attitude might be had from one man who told me that as long as his sister was provided for he did not feel justified in meddling in her affairs; that he could not bring her back to live with him since he had barely enough land to support his own family and his widowed mother; that it would take time before the Mapuche threw off their "barbaric" habits; that he was patient and was willing to wait until his sister's husband settled down to domestic life. Some combination of these sentiments is expressed by nearly every Mapuche, male and female alike.

Men expect postmarital chastity from their wives and punish breaches severely. It is said that formerly a man could legitimately kill both his unfaithful wife and her lover, if he was able to catch them in a compromising situation. I heard a few stories about husbands who killed their wives' paramours in more recent times, but not

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on the reservations I studied. Certainty nowadays a man would not kill his wife unless he was frenzied and caught her in the act with another man.

An unfaithful wife may be beaten by her husband without his receiving censure from the community or from his wife's kin, as long as they feel that his suspicion against her is well founded. Even so, such treatment is usually dealt out only when the husband is drunk and morose. Drunken women also tend to tongue-lash unfaithful husbands.

In cases of repeated infidelity a man will send his wife away—drive her from the house if necessary. There are usually only two courses for her to take. One is to seek employment in a Chilean city. Few women are prepared to do this, it being more often resorted to by young, more acculturated girls, and for other reasons than marital disputes. The other, traditional, course is to return to her natal group, where she may have some claim to land through the largess of a kinsman or through having been one of the original *radicadas*, or where she might live with one of her close relatives.

If a husband is in the habit of getting drunk and manhandling his wife and children, it is customary for a neighbor—a member of his lineage—to intercede and advise the man against such action. This is a traditional manner of settling disputes where chieftainship is weak. It is said that chiefs formerly had authority to prevent such violence on the part of a man if they felt it was disruptive to community life. It is also said that wife beating in a communal or multifamily household occurred only when the husband was outraged and had the expressed sympathy of the rest of the male members; otherwise he would be shamed by such action.

In mentioning the discordant aspects of marriage it is not meant to imply that the husband-wife relationship is not generally enduring and satisfying. As a rule, husband-wife relationships tend to be harmonious, stable, and evidence a good deal of mutual affection and pride of family. The husband enjoys a traditionally dominant role. While his wife is customarily housebound by the nature of her duties she also enjoys freedom in going to the town market and visiting other households on her husband's reservation. She makes trips to her natal reservation and visits married sisters wherever they might be living.

A woman's loneliest years are those just after marriage, when she has been separated from her closest kin and has to make an adjust-

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riage, this assertion being a sensitive one in the face of inquiry by non-Mapuche, but that after the polygynist's death one of the older sons would assume responsibility for the support of the widows and their children. Some of the secondary wives said they would return to their natal reservations after their husband's death, provided there would be more land for them there than they were entitled to under the present polygynous arrangement or through their sons' inheritance.

Curiously, in almost all instances the polygynists had a smaller acreage than other families on the same reservation with only half the number of members. By and large, they were relatively poor men. They apparently gained no prestige by having multiple wives and were economically pressed to support their many dependents. I do not attempt to explain their adherence to polygyny in terms of lust, as the Mapuche are inclined to do, since there are many opportunities for sexual gratification outside of marriage. Nor do I think that to say they are culturally conservative adds to our knowledge, although these polygynists seem to fit into this category.

Compound families without polygynous attributes are much more simply structured than those in which there are multiple wives. In terms of interpersonal relationships among family members there is little to distinguish these households from elementary families. It is, however, in the matter of inheritance among the half-siblings that complications arise from which tensions might result as the children become older.

When the children are related through the father and therefore are all members of the same lineage, matters of inheritance proceed along expected lines. Sharing of farmland is roughly equal among brothers who are able to engage in adult labors. There is always some arrangement whereby land is held in trust for the younger sons. Often the second wife has jurisdiction over the management of land after her husband's death. If the older sons of the first wife (deceased) feel that it will be a long time before they can inherit parcels of land which will enable them to marry and establish their own households, they tend to leave the reservation altogether and enter Ladino society. This kind of situation sometimes results in the youngest son of the secondary wife inheriting all or most of the father's land.

When a widower with children marries a woman with children of her own, the situation is more complicated both as regards inheritance and with respect to interpersonal relations within the household

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through his mother. Without this kinship tie, such negotiation would be taken amiss by the young man on the grounds that he was being unduly coerced and his honor impugned. In most respects, the primary consideration in these matters is family honor, and the danger of interfamilial hostility and loss of honor are sufficient to make responsible relatives on both sides attempt to smooth things over. The notion of honor in this instance might well reflect an influence from a Chilean system of values.

The fear of sorcery is a deterrent to irresponsible behavior in love affairs. The resort to supernatural vengeance by the injured party, through consultation with a specialist, seems once to have been a more widespread practice. Nevertheless, despite what might appear a growing sophistication, the Mapuche continue to concern themselves a great deal with witchcraft and supernatural elements. They tend, however, to dissemble certain beliefs in witchcraft, where these depart from those held by rural Chileans, for the purpose of avoiding ridicule. Mapuche and Chilean peasants share a substantial body of supernatural beliefs, the Chileans criticizing Mapuche concepts of supernatural agents only with respect to details, not as a body of beliefs.

It is not surprising to hear sometimes of murder being committed against a sorceress by one whom she has wronged or threatened. In the past, when the reservations were not too closely surveyed by the national police, the Mapuche tended to settle their disputes according to traditional methods. Wrongs were avenged by witchcraft and murder. Included in this pattern was the socially sanctioned killing of adulterers by the injured man and his kingroup. Tangential to this practice was the one of killing unfaithful lovers, especially men who had forsaken their sweethearts after they became pregnant. It is said that these killings, like others, resulted in interminable feuding or the payment of an indemnity which brought the matter to a close. Today, although violent murder occurs now and then, vengeance is usually exacted through witchcraft. Blood feuding is a thing of the past, most overt acts of vengeance now subsumable under the category of misdemeanors, as defined by Chilean law. Under these circumstances fewer relatives on both sides of an issue become directly involved.

There is, however, no clear evidence that love affairs which resulted in one of the parties suffering injustice characteristically led to violent reprisal and blood feud, at least during the last fifty or

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ervation system entirely. This seems a phenomenon related to scarce land.

Separation in most cases the result of mistreatment or abandonment. In the first case, the woman leaves her husband's reservation, perhaps returning to her own. In the second instance, she generally remains on her husband's land, at least until she is certain that he has no intention of returning. Separation, if it appears permanent, is equivalent to divorce.

During her husband's absence a woman might become involved in a sexual alliance with another man. This is generally condemned by the community if it seems evident that the woman has been deserted. It becomes complicated if the man is not a lineage brother of her husband and if she intends marrying or living permanently with him. Under these circumstances she could not remain on the reservation, unless perhaps her intended spouse were a member of another residence patrilineage.

Her children retain rights as members of their father's patrilineage, but they may have to move off their father's reservation with their mother and her lover, their absence thus weakening their claims to land. The children born to the second alliance of course have no status in their half-siblings' lineage. They are members of their own father's patrilineage and residential kingroup. If their father resides uxorilocally on their mother's reservation, however, they become incorporated into their mother's brother's residential kingroup while maintaining membership in their father's lineage. This lineage membership, however, often carries few actual rights if their father's relations with his natal group are weak—they have no real claim to land there, for example, although they have rights in theory. While their theoretical rights are acknowledged, all sorts of reasons can be answered for their not gaining access to farmland on their father's reservation. As previously mentioned, these socially dislocated young men are in an unenviable position. They frequently leave the reservations to become laborers on Chilean farms or in towns or attempt to become career soldiers or policemen.

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existence was to be reciprocated. All this points to the existence of a high bride-price. We are not clear about the nature of dowry, but the emphasis on bride-price suggests that the dowry was negligible in comparative value. (See Cooper, 1946:719–0 ff., for a summary of the historical data.)

Autobiographical material dating to the early reservation period (Moesbach, 1938) indicates that dowry payments were important and perhaps equal to the goods received from the groom's group. This contrasts with accounts for prereservation times. I take this to mean that land had already become a scarce commodity and was a major part of the marriage wealth, but my argument does not hinge on historical data, and it is difficult to evaluate the evidence (Moesbach, 1938:249–50). Earlier historical accounts mention return of the bride-price in the event of the wife's untimely death, and payment of an amount equal to or greater than the bride-price by a woman's parameter. These payments could only have been in movable goods and, since the accounts are of the prereservation period, it is likely that land was not as highly valued as it came to be after 1884. In any case, such reports about return of the bride-price do not appear in the later literature (except as historical references) which describes exchange in movable goods as more or less equal in value. I suggest that this is because land had become the item of overriding importance in negotiating marriage.

That any exchange of commodities occurred, once land became highly valued, is probably due to factors of prestige that had always been involved in marriage. The wife-giving group sent the bride with a dowry containing, aside from valuable animals, many luxury goods of silver and woven cloth. Similar items were also part of the bride-price. Descriptions of marriages between chiefs' families during the last two generations are almost regal and tell of large contributions from several reservation groups related on each side. They clearly are highly ceremonious events. *Konas*, males of rank-and-file status, also called upon their relatives for contributions to enhance the display, but had less elaborate weddings – and they had to obtain permission to marry from their chief or lineage head, in whose hands was the title of registry of reservation land.

Today, a man need not usually request permission from his chief to marry, although the matter is called to the chief's attention out of respect, and, if there is parental disapproval, the chief may arbitrate the matter. The heads of small sublineages or individual families,

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581 relationship. These bonds are symbolically expressed and revali-
[585] dated during the several phases of the protracted marriage
ritual.

582 Courtship and marriage are both rather rigidly circumscribed by considerations of morality. Patrilineal exogamy is a Mapuche rule which is not capable of being broken, if exogamy is considered at the level of marriage rather than with reference to
[836] pre- or extramarital affairs. Even casual affairs take place with
[837] almost full observance of the exogamic rule. Breaches occasion-
684 ally occur. These, however, are usually due to ignorance or
622 drunken abandon, and are quickly brought to an end by community action, which imposes ostracism or banishment in cases where continued infraction is indicated. Intralineage
836 sexual affairs almost never occur, but there is a danger of casual relationships taking place between a man and the marriage-linked lineage into which his lineage sister has married. Usually, this is due to ignorance on the part of the offenders, who in most cases are adolescents unaware of the special bonds which place
835 them in a proscribed category. Any sexual connection between a
613 man and a woman from the lineage into which his father's sister, father's brother's daughter, or own sister has married is, by definition of the matrilateral rule, considered incest. Marriage could not take place under these conditions. Inadvertent or, in the rare instances of occurrence, defiant sexual affairs between persons so related are described by the Mapuche as "copulating like dogs."

613 While lineage exogamy is essentially one hundred percent
582 complete—considering marriage only, it is unquestionably complete—it is, nevertheless, the negative, proscriptive aspect of the marriage rule, with reference to lineages linked through fathers' sisters (real or classificatory), which underscores the strength of the matrilateral preference. In effect, a man marries matrilaterally or (rarely) entirely outside the traditional framework of paired wife-giving and wife-receiving groups. Although preferential rather than prescriptive, the Mapuche marriage system is highly preferential, the flow of women or the acquisition of wives being almost rigidly unilateral. There is not a hint of simple exchange between intermarrying lineages, which would